

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2188

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

US MISSION EC BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

US MISSION NATO 226

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY BERN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 STOCKHOLM 2541

E.O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PARM, SW

SUBJECT: A SWEDISH APPRAISAL OF CSCE

SUMMARY: AT OUR FIRST MEETING, MFA SECRETARY GENERAL

ASTROM SUPPLIED AN APPRAISAL OF CSCE IN THE CONTEXT

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OF SWEDISH NATIONAL INTERESTS, SOVIET OBJECTIVES AND

WESTERN TACTICS. RESPONDING TO MY QUERY ABOUT THE SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR A CSCE SESSION AT THE LEVEL OF VICE MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, ASTROM REPLIED THAT, IN LATE MAY, SWEDEN HAD CONSULTED HER NORDIC NEIGHBORS AND CERTAIN NEUTRAL COUNTRIES ON THIS PROPOSAL. HE SAID THAT A CONSENSUS HAD EMERGED FROM THESE CONSULTATIONS, NAMELY, THAT SUCH A MEETING, AT THE RIGHT TIME, COULD HAVE A USEFUL CATALYTIC EFFECT, BUT THAT NOW THE TIME WAS NOT RIGHT. ASTROM TOLD ME THAT THE SOVIET CHARGE D'AFFAIRES HAD RECENTLY CALLED ON HIM AND HAD BROACHED THIS SOVIET PROPOSAL. ASTROM SEES THE SOVIETS AS BEING ALREADY QUITE SATISFIED WITH THE "/CONSECRATION" WHICH THE SIMPLE FACT OF WESTERN PARTICIPATION IN CSCE CONFERS UPON THE STATUS QUO AND SOVIET HEGEMONY IN EASTERN EUROPE. HENCE, ASTROM BELIEVES THAT THE SOVIETS ARE UNLIKELY TO YIELD MUCH ON BASKET THREE. THE SWEDISH GOVERNMENT DOUBTS THE WISDOM OF WESTERN TACTICS THAT, BY INTENT OR INADVERTENCE, SEEM TO HAVE AS THEIR OBJECTIVE THE ALTERATION OF THE SOVIET SYSTEM. THE GOS PREFERS TO FOCUS ON OBJECTIVES THAT ARE HUMANITARIAN, SUCH AS THE REUNIFICATION OF FAMILIES, OR THAT ARE FORTHRIGHTLY IN SWEDEN'S NATIONAL INTEREST, SUCH AS "NORMAL WORKING CONDITIONS" FOR SWEDISH JOURNALISTS IN THE USSR. ALTHOUGH ASTROM DID NOT MAKE A STRONG CASE FOR ACCEPTING SOVIET ARGUMENTS ON BASKET THREE, HIS COMMENTS ON THE SLOW PACE OF PHASE 2 REFLECT THE REAL CONCERN OF THE GOS WITH A SPEEDY AND SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF THE CSCE. END SUMMARY.

1. JUST BEFORE I LEFT STOCKHOLM FOR A VISIT TO THE VOLVO INSTALLATIONS IN GOTEBOG ON JUNE 13, I PAID MY FIRST CALL ON MFA SECRETARY GENERAL SVERKER ASTROM ("OW-STRUM"). BY VIRTUE OF HIS GRASP ON HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES, ADROITNESS AND FLAMBOYANT STYLE, HE STRUCK ME AS A WORTHY COUNTERPART TO STEVIE DAVIGNON. WE DISCOURSED AMIABLE ON CSCE AND THE SWEDISH VIEW ON DEALING WITH "LIBERATION MOVEMENTS."

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2. HE PREFACED OUR CONVERSATION BY REAFFIRMING FULLY THE SATISFACTION OF THE GOS AT THE REESTABLISHMENT OF THE SWEDISH-AMERICAN DIALOGUE ON THE AMBASSADORIAL LEVEL.

3. WHEN OUR CONVERSATION TURNED TO THE CSCE, I ASSURED ASTROM THE US IS AS INTERESTED AS ANY OTHER PARTICIPANT IN ACHIEVING A CONSTRUCTIVE OUTCOME.

WHEN, IN A LIGHT VEIN, ASTROM REFERRED TO WIDELY HELD CONCERNS ABOUT US-SOVIET BI-LATERAL DEALINGS ON CSCE, I POINTED OUT THAT WE HVE CONSULTED FULLY AND CONTINUOUSLY WITH OUR ALLIES AND FRIENDS. I SAID THAT, AT THEIR RECENT MEETING, KISSINGER AND GENSCHER HAD AGREED THAT IT HAD TO BE STILL DETERMINED AS TO WHETHER THE RESULTS ACHIEVED TO DATE WOULD JUSTIFY A CSCE MEETING AT A HIGHER LEVEL. I ASKED ASTROM TO COMMENT ON THE PROPOSAL FOR A MEETING AT THE VICE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS LEVEL, NOW ADVANCED BY THE SOVIETS. IN REPLY ASTROM TRACED THE HISTORY OF SOVIET OBJECTIVEVIEWS WITH RESPECT TO A EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE. IRONICALLY, HE SAID, THE ORIGINAL SOVIET OBJECTIVE IN THE EARLY 1950'S WAS TO BLOC ABSORPTION OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY INTO THE WESTERN DEFENSE SYSTEM. AT THAT TIME, THE SOVIETS STILL SEEMED INTENT ON PROMOTING AND MAINTAINING THE KIND OF UNITED GERMANY THEY COULD DOMINATE AND CONTROL. NOW, HE SAID, THEIR OBJECTIVE IS TO "CONSECRATE" THEIR HOLD OVER THE COUNTRIES OF EASTERN EUROPE AND, NOTABLY, OVER THE GDR. THIS BASIC SOVIET OBJECTIVE WAS ALREADY WON WHEN THE WESTERN COUNTRIES AGREED TO THE CONFERENCE. BY THIS AGREEMENT, TOGETHER WITH THE DEMONSTRATED UNWILLINGNESS OF THE U.S. TO ACT IN 1956 AND IN 1968, SOVIET HEGEMONY IN EASTERN EUROPE HAS OBTAINED THE DE FACTO ACCEPTANCE OF THE WEST. STILL, THE SOVIETS, STICKLERS FOR FORMAL ARRANGEMENTS, LOOK FOR THE WEST'S EXPLICIT ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THE OUTCOME OF WORLD WAR II -- PARTICULARLY FOR USE IN ANY FUTURE DIALOGUE WITH AN INCIPIENT REBELLIOUS MOVEMENT WITHIN THEIR OWN EMPIRE.

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USMISSION GENEVA
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 STOCKHOLM 2541

4. NORDIC/NEUTRAL CONSULTATIONS. REACTING TO THE APPARENT DEADLOCK IN CSCE PROCEEDINGS, SAID ASTROM, SWEDEN HAS TAKEN COUNSEL WITH CERTAIN NORDIC AND NEUTRAL FRIENDS, NOTABLY THE NORWEGIANS, DANES, FINNS, AUSTRIANS AND SWISS. THIS WAS CARRIED OUT IN VARIOUS WAYS IN LATE MAY, IN TALKS WITH KREISKY, IN A VISIT
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MADE BY ASTROM HIMSELF TO SWISS MINISTER GRABER, BY SWEDISH AMBASSADORS, ETC. ONE IDEA THAT THE SWEDISH SPOKESMEN TOOK WITH THEM INTO THESE DISCUSSIONS WAS THAT A SESSION AT ONE OR ANOTHER LEVEL HIGHER THAN THE CHIEFS OF DELEGATION LEVEL COULD SERVE TO CATALYZE PROGRESS. HOWEVER, THE UPSHOT OF THE DISCUSSIONS AMONG THE NORDICS AND NEUTRALS WAS THAT THE MOMENT IS NOT FAVORABLE FOR SUCH AN INITIATIVE. WEST EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS ARE SORTING THEMSELVES OUT, PEOPLE ARE AWAITING THE OUTCOME OF THE NATO MINISTERIAL IN OTTAWA. NEVERTHELESS, DESPITE THE ABSENCE OF SUPPORT AMONG THE NORDICS AND NEUTRALS FOR A VICE MINISTERIAL MEETING, THE SOVIETS HAVE PRESSED THIS PROPOSAL.

5. WESTERN TACTICS. TO THOSE WHO KNOW SOVIET ATTITUDES IN NEGOTIATING SITUATIONS, SAID ASTROM (A RUSSIAN SPEAKING VETERAN OF THE MOSCOW SERVICE), IT IS APPARENT THAT THE SOVIETS FEEL THEY HAVE LITTLE NEED TO BE FORTHCOMING, AS

DESIRED BY THE WESTERN COUNTRIES, IN MATTERS OF CONTACTS AND EXCHANGES. IN THESE MATTERS, THE BENELUX POSITION IS UNREALISTIC. ASTROM SAID HE SEES LITTLE ADVANTAGE IN A WESTERN APPROACH THAT APPEARS INTENDED, THROUGH EXCHANGES AND CONTACTS, TO UNDERMINE THE SOVIET SYSTEM. THE GOS PREFERS INSTEAD TO EMPHASIZE HUMANITARIAN MEASURES, SUCH AS THE REUNIFICATION OF FAMILIES, AND TO ARGUE FRANKLY THE SWEDISH NATIONAL INTEREST IN ASSURING, FOR EXAMPLE, SWEDISH JOURNALISTS THE RIGHT TO EXERCISE THEIR PROFESSION "NORMALLY" IN MOSCOW.

6. SWEDISH SCHIZOPHRENIA ON DETENTE. ASTROM SAID THE GOS SEES A CSCE FOLLOW-ON ARRANGEMENT AS ADVANTAGEOUS -- EVEN IF IT ADDS ONLY ONE IOTA TO SWEDISH SECURITY. SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT, THOUGH NOT A PERMANENT SECRETARIAT, WILL BE PARTICULARLY HELPFUL TO SUCH SMALLER EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AS ROMANIA. ON DETENTE IN GENERAL, AND SOVIET-AMERICAN DETENTE IN PARTICULAR, SWEDEN, SAID ASTROM, IS ADMITTEDLY OF TWO MINDS. SWEDEN WELCOMES DETENTE AND, AT THE SAME TIME, HAS MISGIVINGS ABOUT GREAT POWER DEALINGS OVER THE HEAD, AND POSSIBLY, AT THE EXPENSE, OF SWEDEN.

7. MBFR. ASTROM SAID THAT SWEDEN'S POPULATION HAS CONFIDENTIAL

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WILLINGLY BORNE A VERY HEAVY DEFENSE BURDEN. IF MBFR LEADS TO RESULTS THAT COULD JUSTIFY A LOWERING OF FORCES, IT WOULD, OF COURSE, BE WELCOMED BY SWEDEN. HARD-HEADED CONCERN FOR NATIONAL INTEREST SHOULD GOVERN THE MBFR AS WELL AS THE CSCE NEGOTIATIONS.

8. SEE SEPARATE MESSAGE ON RECOGNITION AND GUINEA-BISSAU. STRAUSZ-HUPE

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